

This paper has been paid for, if not by you, then by some one who wants you to read it.

No. 245 If No. 246 appears on your address label, your subscription expires next week. Do not fail to renew.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Readers For The
American Socialist
Now Means Party
Members Later On

VOL. IV. No. 1.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS; 50 CENTS PER YEAR; \$1 PER YEAR, OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

The People's Council

On July 7 and 8, the Second American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace convened in Chicago and was a great success. Delegates came from all over the Union, a delegate from California speaking next to a delegate from New Jersey. Delaware was represented with Nebraska; Indiana and Michigan sat together. Nearly seven hundred registrations were received, of which about five hundred attended the conference.

Sessions were held in the Auditorium Recital Hall, which seats 450 persons. The conference opened Saturday morning, July 7 at 10 o'clock, with an address by Irwin St. John Tucker, chairman of the Chicago Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace. The first day's session was devoted to a discussion of the Conscription Law and the rights of Conscientious Objectors. Speakers were Hon. William E. Mason, Congressman at large from Illinois; Frank Stephens, Single Taxer, of Ardmore, Delaware; E. C. Wentworth of Chicago, and others.

At the afternoon session Prof. Scott Nearing, formerly of the University of Toledo, presided. The discussion was on Taxation and Finance in War Time. Speakers were, William W. Clay, Prof. Lindley M. Keasbey of the University of Texas, Prof. Charles F. Zuehlke of Northwestern, and many volunteers from the floor.

At the evening session Morris Hillquit presided, and made an eloquent and thrilling speech on the subject of "Forces Making for Democracy in Europe and America." Various nationalities were represented in the discussion; Miss Laura Hughes spoke for Canada, N. A. Stolar for Russia, Christian M. Madsen for the Scandinavian countries, Prof. F. A. Schevill for the University of Chicago for the Balkan states, Miss Mary O'Reilly for Ireland, Carl D. Thompson for the United States, and Caleb Harrison of the Socialist Labor Party ended the discussion by an exposition of economic forces in the world at large.

At the Sunday morning's meeting, resolutions were adopted, and plans for the People's Council of America were discussed. The Constituent Assembly of this organization is to meet in Minneapolis on September 1st. Every organization in the United States, with membership from 50 to 1,000, is entitled to send one delegate. The Socialist Party is represented on the Executive Committee, Irwin St. John Tucker, and Algernon Lee being on the national organizing committee; Seymour Stedman and Robert H. Howe are delegates from the Cook County Socialist party; and many locals and county branches have elected delegates.

The plan is to secure delegates from all labor unions, scientific societies, fraternal orders, and public organizations of all kinds, in order to secure a fair representation of the popular will. This Constituent Assembly will draw up plans for permanent organization of the People's Council for the time of the war.

The sole object and purpose of this organization is stated to be the preservation of Democracy during the war and the securing of ample public discussion of the terms of peace.

On Sunday afternoon a great mass meeting was held in the Riverview Park base ball amphitheater in Chicago. The location of this meeting had been changed several times owing to considerable opposition from financial interests. The Riverview Park grounds seat some five thousand persons, and although in the open air, the acoustics are nearly perfect. Speakers were Irwin St. John Tucker, who presided, Prof. Lindley M. Keasbey, Miss Laura Hughes, Congressman William E. Mason, James H. Maurer, and Seymour Stedman. The resolutions adopted at the morning session were passed by a unanimous vote amid great cheering.

Branches of the People's Council have been organized in Milwaukee—where a great mass meeting was held on the night of July 9—in Cincinnati, in St. Louis, in Peoria, and in many other cities throughout the Middle West. The movement, say the national organizers, is spreading like wildfire. Its system of organization appeals to the minds of many as being the best suited to this present crisis, and the fact that so many prominent socialists are represented on the organization committee is evidence that Socialists may join it without compromise of party principles.

The headquarters of the organization are at 2 West Thirteenth Street, New York City. Louis P. Lochner is executive secretary.

Look For
"Our Birthday"
Subscription Blank
On Page Three

Make Good
Use Of It!

Socialist Party Sends Committee To Washington To Confer With Postal Officials On Press Problem

AN effort to reach a definite interpretation of the Espionage Act, adopted by congress, June 15, 1917, and its application to the Socialist, trade union and radical press, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party has decided to send a committee of attorneys to Washington, D. C., to take the matter up with the postoffice officials at the national capitol.

That this is entirely satisfactory to the Washington authorities is indicated by a telegram received from our Washington representative as follows.

"DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS DESIRE CONFERENCE THIS WEEK WITH SOCIALIST PARTY COMMITTEE; HILLQUIT, DARROW, STEDMAN, WALSH, REGARDING ENFORCEMENT OF ACT, JUNE 15th. MUTUALLY AGREED TO WITHHOLD STATEMENT DEPARTMENT'S POSITION PENDING CONFERENCE."

The situation confronting the Socialist, trade union and radical press as a result of the interpretation of the act of congress, June 15th, was the most important matter to come before the party national executive committee at its meeting in Chicago, July 6-7.

Clarence Darrow, the well known labor lawyer, and Seymour Stedman, one of the most prominent lawyers in the Socialist Party, attended the meeting of the national executive committee; Morris Hillquit, the distinguished Socialist and labor attorney of New York City, being a member of the committee.

They agreed that the law could be differently interpreted and felt that the best way to reach some definite decision was to go to Washington to confer with the authorities there.

It was agreed that Darrow, Stedman and Hillquit, with Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, Mo., chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations appointed by President Wilson, should make up the committee.

The committee plans to see Postmaster General Burleson and confer with him on the general status of the Socialist, trade union and radical press during the war, irrespective of the provisions of the act of June 15th. It is also felt that it will be possible to secure a conference with President Wilson.

Editors and business managers of many of the Socialist papers had already been held up were present at the executive committee meeting and detailed statements were submitted in writing, outlining their experiences.

Statements were submitted for THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Chicago; Socialist News, Cleveland; Michigan Socialist, Detroit; St. Louis Labor and Social Revolution, St. Louis, Mo.; International Socialist Review, Chicago, and The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas.

These statements were turned over to Morris Hillquit who will forward them into a general statement in order to be the better able to present the matter to the post office authorities at Washington.

This issue of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST is the result of a sincere effort on the part of the editor to comply with the law; basing his judgment on the advice he has so far been able to get.

Many of our readers, because of the announcement that the issue of June 30th had been held up, are of the belief that the paper has been completely suppressed.

For the benefit of these readers and to correct this misunderstanding we wish to repeat part of the statement that appeared in last week's issue as follows.

"OUR PAPER WILL BE PUBLISHED REGULARLY. EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO COMPLY WITH THE LAW AND AT THE SAME TIME ISSUE A PUBLICATION THAT WILL BE A CREDIT TO THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. THERE SHOULD BE NO LET-UP IN GETTING SUBSCRIPTIONS. WE MUST CONTINUE TO RELY ENTIRELY ON YOUR EFFORTS IN INCREASING OUR ARMY OF READERS, NOW AS ALWAYS."

Additional information as to just what the post office department considers unavailable is contained in a statement received from the manager of Das Rationale Leben (Rational Living), a Yiddish monthly, that, "the solicitor for the post office department has declared our June issue as non-mailable on account of an article addressed to conscientious objectors against this war."

THE fate of other publications is given in a Washington, July 7th, dispatch to The Chicago Journal as follows:

The mails have been barred to numerous publications for opposition to the war since the espionage act was approved June 15, it was learned today. The latest stop order was issued against The Appeal to Reason, socialist weekly, of Girard, Kansas.

Among other publications one or more issues of which have been barred by the postoffice department, are Tom Watson's Jeffersonian, Georgia, and the Four Lights, organ of the woman's peace party of New York.

Almost daily since June 15, according to an official of the department today, some anti-war, socialist or pacifist publication has been barred.

The penalties in the espionage act have not yet been invoked in any case, but it is reported that Postmaster General Burleson, Solicitor Lamar and Provost Marshal Gen. Crowder have decided upon more stringent action in the future. The maximum penalty is \$10,000 fine, or twenty years' imprisonment, or both.

We have just received a copy of the July 7th issue of The People's Press of Philadelphia, Pa. All of the columns are blank except for the usual advertising while the first page contains a statement that the June 30th issue is being held by the post office.

A later Washington dispatch appearing in the Chicago Examiner states that:

"Washington, July 9.—Objectionable numbers of a score of radical periodicals have been suppressed by the government since the beginning

of the war thru powers conferred on the postoffice department in the espionage bill, signed by the President June 15.

"Among the publications affected the best known are The Masses, edited by Max Eastman; The American Socialist, owned by the Socialist party; and The Appeal to Reason, published at Girard, Kansas.

"Meyer London, representative of the Socialist party in Congress, is to ask unanimous consent for a twenty-minute address on the suppression of newspapers. He will then introduce a resolution calling on Postmaster General Burleson for information regarding the suppressions."

An Investigation Is Asked

Washington, D. C., July 10.—A sweeping investigation of the post-office department's activities in suppressing newspapers and periodicals by excluding them from the mails under the censorship authority contained in the espionage law, approved June 15, was demanded in a resolution introduced in the House today by Representative London, of New York.

The resolution calls particularly for the name of every newspaper, periodical, book, circular, print, or publication excluded from the mails under the operation of the department's censorship, and demands the reasons assigned by Postmaster General Burleson for such exclusion. It also asks for the instructions issued by the Postmaster General to local postmasters for the enforcement of the censorship provisions, as well as the correspondence relative thereto between the postoffice department and other departments of the government.

The resolution is directed against the action of the post office department in withholding from the mails the following Socialist publications: The American Socialist, Chicago; The Michigan Socialist, Detroit; The Socialist News, Cleveland; St. Louis Labor, St. Louis; The Social Revolution, St. Louis; The Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas; The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas; The People's Press, Philadelphia; The Masses, New York; and The International Socialist Review, Chicago. All of these papers have been denied the privilege of the mails by Postmaster General Burleson, the department's assigned reason being that they are in violation of the espionage law.

The text of Representative London's resolution follows: Resolved, by the House of Representatives, that the postmaster be held to the House with the following information:

"Has any print, newspaper, circular, periodical or other publication been denied the privileges of the mails in the enforcement of the espionage law?"

"If any print, circular, book, publication, periodical, or newspaper has been so denied the privileges of the mails, the name or names of the print, circular, book, publication, periodical, or newspaper, and the date or dates when the privileges of the mails were denied to such publications."

"If any reason been assigned to the publisher or publishers, writer or writers, or any of the said publications at the time the privileges of the mails were denied, and if any such reason has been assigned, information as to the reason or reasons so assigned."

"If any instruction or have any instructions been issued by the postmaster general or the postoffice department to local postmasters for the enforcement of the espionage law? What are these instructions if any such have been issued?"

"The correspondence between the postoffice department and other departments of the government relative to the enforcement of the espionage law, the disclosure of which correspondence is not incompatible with the public interest."

The resolution was referred to House Committee on Postoffices and Post Roads. It is expected that the committee will give an opportunity for hearings at which the editors of the victimized newspapers will tell the story of their contest with Postmaster General Burleson for the liberty of the press.

"It has surely never been contemplated by congress that every postmaster and every assistant district attorney should constitute himself a regulator of speech and a censor of the press," said Representative London, regarding his resolution for an investigation of the postoffice department's activities in suppressing newspapers and periodicals under the censorship authority contained in the espionage law, approved June 15. "The man has not yet been born upon whom the American people are ready to confer the power of determining what people shall think and what they shall say. The guarantees of freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot be suspended. Not only are these guarantees contained in the constitution, but these rights are inseparable from civilized life."

"In two speeches during the discussion of the espionage bill I pointed out the danger of restrictions upon the press contained in sections other than that famous section 4, in the defeat of which the papers took so much pride."

"A country at war has a right and owes a duty to itself to keep away from the enemy all information as to the movements or contemplated movements of its armies and navies."

"The right to disagree with the administration as to policies cannot be surrendered by the people."

"The attempt to suppress by law all expressions of disapproval of the policies or methods of the government would result in a tyranny which no civilized nation can endure."

"In every European country more than one cabinet has been changed since the beginning of the war."

"Just think of having a Socialist newspaper censored by some uninformed postmaster, who may be quite an expert in his line, but to whom the word 'Socialism' carries the same menace which the words 'Republic' or 'Democracy' carried to the Tories of old."

"The attempted suppression of nearly a dozen Socialist papers should be an awful warning to the press and to the people of America that the effort of officials to create a censorship of opinion should be immediately frustrated by the people."

"I want congress and the country to know the facts."

(FROM THE NEW YORK CALL)
Socialists Will Get
Hearing On Gag Protest

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS AGREE TO LISTEN TO PARTY PRESS COMMITTEE.

Washington, July 7.—Department of justice officials in charge of the act approved June 15, 1917, commonly known as the espionage law, expressed a willingness today in an interview with Julian Pierce, Socialist national committeeman, to hold a conference with a committee of the Socialist party to discuss those provisions of the law which have been the basis of the recent indictments of Socialists by federal grand juries for alleged anti-conscription and related activities, as well as the authority for the post-office department's action in withholding Socialist papers from the United States mails.

The conference will be held some time during the coming week at the department of justice in this city. National Committeeman Pierce suggested that the officials receive Meyer London, Socialist representative from New York, and the committee appointed by the national executive committee to take up the matter of the exclusion from the mails of numerous Socialist papers by the postoffice department. This committee consists of Morris Hillquit of New York, Clarence Darrow and Seymour Stedman of Chicago and Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City.

"Most of the trouble between the Socialists and the department of justice and the postoffice department," said Pierce in an interview for The Call, "has been caused by Section 3 of Title 1 of the act approved June 15. This section declares that whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause, by subordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000, or punishment for not more than 20 years, or both."

"The censorship chapter provides that any matter in violation of any provision of the act shall be non-mailable. The most of the papers withheld from the mails by the post-office department have been withheld because of matter alleged to be in violation of some one or more of the sweeping provisions of section 3."

"Believing that Socialists in general, and Socialist editors in particular, were unfamiliar with the stringent provisions of the act, as well as its drastic penalties, I took the matter up with the officials of the department of justice some days ago."

"I told the department that in the public interest it would be a good policy for the department to assign certain typical papers which were deemed to be in violation of the law to the Socialist party, and to have the Socialist party voluntarily agree to violate the law, and to have the Socialist party voluntarily agree to have their papers in conformity with the law just as soon as the law was interpreted."

Agree To Violate Law
"In the interview, I explained the meaning of the act, and the intention of the department. I stated that certain documents of the Socialist party, the request that the department assign certain typical passages, which were deemed to be in violation of the law, to the Socialist party, and to have the Socialist party voluntarily agree to violate the law, and to have the Socialist party voluntarily agree to have their papers in conformity with the law just as soon as the law was interpreted."

"It was further deemed in the public interest for the officials to assign the department's policy in enforcing the law. In view of the fact that the act of June 15 was entirely new, and being used by United States attorneys as a postoffice weapon, it was deemed a very laudable, if not a necessary, step for the department to have the Socialist party voluntarily agree to violate the law, and to have the Socialist party voluntarily agree to have their papers in conformity with the law just as soon as the law was interpreted."

"The department of justice officials," concluded Pierce, "impressed me as being willing to reach a mutual understanding with the Socialists relative to the law. Authorized to enforce a new statute with such sweeping provisions, they manifested a desire to confer with the legal representatives of the party regarding the proper interpretations to be placed upon these sections which have caused the Socialists the most trouble."

"It is confidently expected that by the end of the week the government will definitely declare its policy, and it is expected that its rigors in the direction of the repression of freedom of speech and liberty of the press will be materially lessened."

Jeppe Borghjerg, editor of the Copenhagen Social Demokrat, has taken the place of T. Stauning, Socialist minister without portfolio in the Danish cabinet, on the Scandinavian-Dutch Socialist committee. This will put an end to the parliamentary disagreements here arising from Stauning's participation in the recent Socialist conference at Stockholm.

Vorwaerts, the German Socialist organ, calls out warningly to the government: "Let none be blind to the fact that at this time a certain unrest is spreading thruout the nation."

The Wrangle Over Coal

By GILSON GARDNER.

Washington, D. C.—Government control or private control—which shall it be? This is the question involved in the wrangle over coal.

Shall the government have power to name a reasonable price on fuel and to control its distribution, or shall this be left to speculators?

President Wilson thinks it time to call a halt on speculation in this necessity. He favors the plan for control worked out by the federal trade commission. Secretary of War Baker agrees with him, as do Secretary of the Navy Daniels and Attorney General Gregory.

Opposed to the president are Franklin K. Lane, secretary of the interior, and the big coal operators who make up the coal committee of the advisory council of national defense. This is the committee headed by F. S. Peabody.

Railroad Bankers With Opposition. Added to this opposition is a group of powerful railroad bankers, headed by what is known as the "steel trust crowd," who control the railroad facilities, including coal cars needed to carry on the coal industry.

These patriots are not averse to taking a famine price for coal, even if they have to make the famine to get the price.

Ex-Governor Fort of New Jersey, now a member of the federal trade commission, played the game of the privileged interests, as led by Peabody and Lane.

Fort sat in on their "conference" at which it was agreed that a price of \$3 be made for coal at the mouth of the mine. Fort's presence, like that of Secretary Lane, seemed to give official color to an action that was unauthorized and illegal under the Sherman law. Secretary Baker called attention to this fact in his now famous letter.

Private Interests Alarmed.

When the federal trade commission sent its report to the Senate about two weeks ago, showing why a coal famine exists, the private interests which control coal became alarmed. They say they were threatened with a real government control. What should they do?

The answer was obvious. Everybody hurry to Washington. Get together there and make a loud noise like "patriotism." Then give out some press dope that the coal barons had suddenly reformed and were going to lay their cars, their mines and their sacred wallets on the altar of their beloved country. Get a cabinet officer to sit in; also a federal trade commissioner, and declare this to be the action of the council of national defense.

Cars Control Coal Price.

The truth is that price of coal

at the mine is not what counts. CARS at the mine are the necessity. The real coal barons are the CAR BARONS. The real coal trust is the RAILROAD TRUST, and until the coalcarrying facilities are pooled and brought under control of the government the coal famine will not be relieved.

The president knows this, and so do Baker, Daniels, Gregory and the members of the Senate committee on interstate commerce, who are now getting ready a bill to carry out the recommendations of the federal trade commission.

Senator Poinsett, a member of this committee, explains the matter thus:

"Under the proposed plan the government would become, for the moment, the owner of all coal as it came from the mines. The government would not attempt to operate mines or distribute coal. But, being the sole owner of all coal, the government would be in position to curb coal speculation and to insist that the coal go where needed."

Cost and "Reasonable" Profit. The plan contemplates using the same distributing agencies that always have done the work—the railroad, the wholesaler and the retailer.

"Everybody would be paid cost plus a reasonable profit for his service. But the government would be able to follow every ton of coal from the mine to the consumer, and to see that the consumer is served and that the middleman does not extort a famine or panic profit."

One by-product of the coal fight is likely to be abolition of the coal committee of the council of national defense as it is now made up. This committee has exhibited everything except patriotism, and is redtagged for an early canning.

To Save Rena Mooney

With every hope of securing an acquittal the defense in the case of Mrs. Rena Mooney has opened its case in the San Francisco courts where this famous labor trial grinds slowly along. Attorney Maxwell McNutt, in his opening statement, confined his address to definite points of issue in the state's case.

He promised to prove bald contradictions in the testimony of State witnesses and inaccuracies in time, as established by photographs of clocks, making it impossible for the defendants to have been at the places alleged by the prosecution and to establish alibis and identifications which absolutely would disprove all possible connection of Mrs. Mooney with the planting of the preparedness day bomb.

One of our recent recruits from Mineral Springs, Ark., writes: "I want the truth and I sure can get it out of your paper. I have been reading a few copies of it and I endorse its get up."

How To Make The Change

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

SOCIALISM is the name of an epoch of civilization—the next epoch, if our civilization is to continue in existence.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose "at a certain date," nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

BESIDES, altho capitalist society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society.

This is the case not only in Germany, in spite of its high economic development, but also in England, the "classical land" of capitalism.

Just so with any revolution. Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the proletariat, the commonwealth cannot take upon itself all kinds of production.

MANY industries today are not at all concentrated, and therefore are not yet ripe for this. Some will become so with time, others perhaps will not. The editor of this paper is no prophet, and will not attempt to predict details.

However, the trusts are now showing the Socialists how they must do it, only they will have to do it from a Socialist standpoint and for the benefit of all the people.

IT IS not necessary that all industries should be immediately taken over by the Socialist republic, or as many Socialists prefer to say, by the "Socialist society."

Every branch of production controlled by a trust, as well as all industries which could be conducted on a similar scale, besides railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., will, of course, become collective public property.

But there is a whole class of industries which are not yet ready to be worked on this large scale or which are liable to be decentralized by the technical perfection of the methods of transmitting power. These without any objection may remain in private hands.

We refer to certain petty industries, as well as mainly to agriculture.

IN ALL such cases the Socialist state can give the opportunity for the formation of associations which, together with the model industries directed by the state, will raise the level of the workers in these branches to a degree incredible at the present time.

The chief reason why workingmen's associations have been impossible hitherto, has even now been removed by the trusts, and, of course, will be of still less account at the rise of the political power of the proletariat.

As long as the former anarchical condition of production prevailed, workingmen's productive associations, started usually with very little capital or with outside capital.

They were, therefore, especially subject to bankruptcy. They were compelled to produce continually in order to support their members, and not having any control of the market, they did not know how much to produce. And consequently, with their insufficient or borrowed capital, they quickly went to the wall when there was any difficulty in the market.

BUT THIS is now quite different. The trusts show how a regulated business can be done.

The management of the workingmen's associations will find out what the demand is, and determine the what, how and how much of production.

During the transition period the sale of products may take place exactly as at present, only subject to regulation by the government which will be in the hands of the working class.

IN THE trusts, the capitalist class even now plays the most superfluous role in the world.

Indeed, in the trusts the capitalist

class is already expropriated to a certain extent, for they no longer have anything to control, and only draw their profits.

Their industries are apparently the property of the shareholders; but what sort of property is that of which one has not the free disposal?

They can no longer produce what they will, nor at what price they will, nor with what workmen they will; all, all is prescribed to them by the management of the trust. Properly speaking, the shareholders are not the owners, they are only the profit-receivers.

WHY, then, if the proletariat gets political power, should workingmen's associations not be possible, which, instead of the capitalists, will own the factories where the workmen themselves will choose the managers and themselves receive the profits?

Of course, at the same time, many industries, all of those of national magnitude, could be carried on by the government. Where necessary, the government could make some agreement with the productive associations of workers.

We speak of the transition period.

IN THIS transition period, the Socialist government, of course, can lend the necessary capital to the productive societies and furnish suitable guarantees.

The government in this transition period will have at its disposal quite different powers than it has at present.

For instance, it will have a monopoly of all water power, coal mines, railroads, rivers, electrical plants, etc.

So, perhaps for a time a state of affairs may arise which will combine at the same time the three forms of production; the capitalist, the petty industries where goods will be produced for the market; the co-operative, in which the products will also be for sale; and the purely socialist, where the government will carry on production for use only, and the product will not take the form of wares at all.

CAPITALISM was necessary to give mankind dominion over the forces of nature, which is now assured by our scientific attainments.

Considered in itself, capitalism has by no means reached that point of time when it becomes impossible. On the contrary, the trust system, it has stepped into a new phase, the duration of which is unlimited according to our present light.

Of course, from a civilizing force, capitalism has already become a menace to civilization. But that does not affect its vitality!

However, the tendencies which oppose it have now gathered such strength that a thoro change—must not indeed—but can take place, if the working class understands its mission.

In conclusion let me also say that the world's history is always made by men, and not a mere natural process as the Marxists want us to believe.

Nebraska Department

Edited by RAYMOND LAWLER, Acting State Secretary.

NOTE.—Nebraska Socialists have planned to send THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST to every party member in the state. They hope gradually to build up a powerful "Nebraska Edition" that will serve them well in winning the hearts and minds of the people. Some other states will wake up and plan similar state editions. For information write: J. L. Engdahl, Editor, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The pleasure of being an editor for the first time is somewhat marred by being limited to half a column. I simply cannot crowd in mention of the comrades and localities that have been won by this local, as the same Comrade J. M. Leyda of Plattsmouth, appears to be the worst offender, what he does for the Nebraska Socialists. It is expected that other states will wake up and plan similar state editions. For information write: J. L. Engdahl, Editor, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

On receipt of the records by me I immediately wired the members of the state executive committee calling their attention to the fact that the constitution authorized them to decide in an emergency. Y. Miliken, Mosher and the members of the committee on the same day and the date for the calling of the regular annual election. This action based on the fact that had an emergency election referendum been started on June 15th, that the Secretary elected by this emergency election could not have been seated before August 17th, which would have left the comrades elected less than thirty days to act before the date set for the calling of the regular annual election, which date is September 15th.

The vote on referendum "B", the war program results, for the majority report 50-50 for the minority report 86. This report includes 47 votes for the minority report cast by the secretary of the Bohemian Branch, A. J. S. Omaha, for all members in good standing, and so noted on the ballot.

The monthly dues stamp sales since the beginning of the year are as follows: January—356; February—353; March—292; April—187; May—279; the first 15 days of June—241; the last 15 days of June—455. Can you beat it? You must!

Cash on hand July 1st \$90.40, due-stamps on hand July 1st \$82.

The Appeal sends us an application for a charter from 10 comrades at Eustis, Nebraska. These comrades discovered that it was not necessary to wait until a regular organization called but got busy themselves, which shows the proper spirit of "do it now."

Any one who doubts the ability of the comrades at Local Loomis to pull off a big stunt and make it pay should have been in that neighborhood on June 22nd, to say that they made good isn't beginning to tell half the story. There is a secret process involved in the work of the comrades, and it is a secret that has not yet been copyrighted, yet I feel that they may without incurring a penalty let the comrades on the list in on the secret. Live wire secretary, Comrade G. A. Mills, and a bunch of live-thous who work with him, that's all. Go them, and I advise you, you have still to be convinced that at last WE, the Socialists, are now popular.

Rumors of a gigantic conspiracy emanate from the same point, to say that the present situation is a plot to overthrow the comrades are planning a monster-picnic for the early part of August which, believe me, will be some event, likewise.

The vote on referendum "C", the new constitution, and referendum "D", the new platform, must reach me on or before July 18th to be counted. A number of ballots on the war program were received too late to be counted.

In connection with the referendum covering the new constitution the attention of the membership is invited to article 10 section 6. If the proposed change carries National office dues are doubled. Just what will happen to our state dues is not certain. If the change is doubled I am unable to forecast. Consider this paragraph carefully when voting.

RAYMOND LAWLER, Acting Secretary, 1508 Ohio St., Omaha, Neb.

Socialist Land Measure Now Pending in Congress

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

The first item in the Socialist program, according to Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto," deals with the land question. It reads as follows:

"1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes." (Communist Manifesto, Page 45, item one of immediate measures.)

All Socialists who are interested in seeing a measure of this kind put thru will be interested in the Crosser bill, now pending in Congress. Single-taxers and other radicals are very much dissatisfied with some of the proposed revenue bills and are urging the substitute framed by Congressman Crosser of Ohio. While it is not intended in any sense to be a Socialist measure, one can readily see that it approaches the whole subject from the standpoint indicated in the above quotation from the Manifesto. It provides for a tax on land values, large enough to raise the \$2,000,000,000 needed.

If this bill is passed, it will force into use every bit of valuable land now withheld. It will not prove a burden to a single useful industry. It will be in the nature of a levy on citizens in accordance with benefits received from the government. Its superiority over the Ways and Means Committee's bill is so obvious, that there is no reason why it should not be passed. But Congress is not in the habit of giving the best bill the preference. Perhaps this will prove no exception.

To raise two billions of extra revenue Congress seems willing to levy taxes in any way, except the only one that will prove no burden to labor. The Committee on Ways and Means recommends heavily increased taxes on industry, increased taxes on incomes, regardless of whether they be earned or unearned; increased taxes on excess profits, regardless of whether they be due to extraordinary service on the part of the recipient, or to extraordinary predatory power possessed by him; and a lot of new taxes, which must fall to a considerable extent on consumption.

But one source of revenue the committee overlooked. It has paid no attention to land values at all. To be sure the income tax falls to some extent on ground rents, but only on ground rents for land in use. Land withheld from use, however valuable, it may be, is exempt. This discriminates against the landowner who does not entirely forbid use of his property.

At the very time when a crop shortage threatens and people are being urged on all sides to plant on every bit of vacant space, the Ways and Means Committee deliberately frames a bill that continues encouragement to owners of idle land to keep it out of use.

Every Socialist, we should think, and every person interested in the better revenue bill, should interest himself in this measure and do what he can to help put it thru.

Banker Incites Raid

Sensational facts regarding the influence of a "State street" banker on the raid on Socialist party headquarters recently staged at Boston, Mass., has come to light as the result of a statement made by Mayor Curley. The mayor accuses this banker of having approached him a week before the raid with a suggestion that he prohibit all Socialist meetings in the future.

This same capitalist has been one of the foremost agitators in this section for war, as well as being a prominent figure in the "preparedness" movement.

James O'neal, state secretary for the Socialist party, has issued a statement enumerating the facts mentioned above, and which continues:

Soldiers and Sailors Led Raid. "We have also gathered sufficient evidence to indicate that recruiting officers on the Common had for several days urged his audiences to break up the parade and meeting. Witnesses are also ready to testify that this officer led the sailors and soldiers in the street assaults and in the raid on the state office. Pictures have also been secured showing the soldiers and sailors making the assaults, and these will be used as evidence in legal action that is to be taken."

"Intolerable" is the word which Secretary of War Newton D. Baker uses to characterize the recent actions of the United States who have broken up peaceful and lawful meetings in this city, Boston and elsewhere.

The secretary's expression is used in a memorandum which he recently sent to Harry Weinberger, general counsel of the American Defense league, in answer to a letter from Weinberger, in which the latter set forth the various outrages which have been perpetrated by the soldiers and sailors.

Some Essentials

The first essential to a good organizer is to be of a companionable disposition.

Secondly, he should be a reader of human nature in order to know his man when he meets him.

Third, when he is rounding up a group he should be sure to select the brightest and most intelligent member of the group and impress him that he is the comrade to take the responsibility of increasing the membership and keeping the organization alive.

Fourth, he should be clear on the fundamentals of socialism.

Fifth, he should be full of enthusiasm.

Sixth, he should use clear, plain English.

Seventh, allow the new members to grow into the work gradually.

Eighth, a good personal appearance is necessary.

Ninth, he must have all confidence in himself and use it to meet all classes of people and to get on a good front.—SAMUEL J. ROSE, N.S.

RUSSIA DEFINES SOCIALISM.

"The country's minerals, water-courses and forests ought properly to belong to the whole people, who should administer them thru democratic institutions, while the utilization of land ought to be assured to agricultural workers under conditions insuring increased means of production and development of cooperative social life."—News item from Petrograd, July 7.

Food Prices Going Up!

Thirty-nine cts. on the dollar is the higher cost of living tribute which the food pirates exacted from the people of the United States during the year ended May 15, 1917, by boosting prices on the 27 principal articles of food, according to the comparison of prices for the year made public by the bureau of labor statistics.

The figures are complementary to statistics already made public indicating a five per cent boost in prices for the month ended May 15.

To cope with the increasing cost of living situation revealed by the bureau, the working people should have made the employers deliver a 39 per cent wage increase between May 15, 1917, this for food alone, having nothing to do about increased cost of clothing, coal and other necessary commodities.

Heaviest Tribute Taken.

The 39 per cent price boost between May, 1916, and May, 1917, constitutes the heaviest tribute taken from the consumers during any year period ending during the past six months.

For the year ending December 15, the price boosters soared food prices 29 per cent; for the year ending January 15 they shot prices up to 30 per cent; for February to 38 per cent; in March the pirates took a rest at the 38 per cent point; in April the average fell to 32 per cent above the price in April, 1916; but by May 15 the pirates hit the pace again, so that food prices were 39 per cent higher on May 15 than on July 15, 1916.

Specialized in Necessities.

During the year the potato dealers and flour merchants hit the price boosting bullseye more frequently than any others in the price-boosting fraternity. They jumped potatoes to 149 per cent above the price on May 15, 1916, and flour 122 per cent.

Each of the 27 articles for which the bureau of labor statistics compile prices were boosted during the year. The bureau's figures are so striking as to require no explanation.

The table below compares the prices of the 27 articles of food on May 15, 1916, and May 15, 1917, respectively:

Article	Unit	1916	1917
Beef, sirloin	lb.	\$0.25	\$0.32
Beef, round	lb.	.23	.29
Rib roast	lb.	.21	.27
Chuck roast	lb.	.17	.21
Plate boiling beef	lb.	.13	.16
Pork chops	lb.	.22	.30
Bacon	lb.	.28	.41
Ham	lb.	.31	.38
Butter, creamery	lb.	.20	.27
Eggs, strictly fresh	dozen	.25	.35
Butter, strictly fresh	lb.	.27	.45
Cheese	lb.	.44	.58
Milk	quart	.08	.10
Bread	lb.	.02	.03
Flour	54-lb. bag	.95	1.24
Corn meal	lb.	.03	.04
Rice	lb.	.09	.10
Potatoes	5-lb. bag	.39	.51
Onions	lb.	.05	.08
Beans, navy	lb.	.04	.05
Peas	lb.	.12	.13
Salmon	lb.	.12	.14
Sugar	lb.	.08	.10
Tea	lb.	.25	.30
Tea	lb.	.54	.57

Assuming \$3 a day to be the worker's wages on May 15, 1916, the employer should be paying him \$4.17 a day now or \$25.02 a week, instead of \$18, in order to neutralize the food sharks' tribute.

In spite of food control legislation, it is predicted that the statistics for the year ending June 15 will show still greater price boosts.

COLLEGE STUDENTS ARE AWAKE TO SOCIALISM

The drift in Europe toward State Socialism; the Russian Revolution and the other democratic movements led by European Socialists; the steadily increasing cost of living in this country; and the growing realization of the economic causes of modern warfare have made the college students more keenly alive than ever before to the challenge presented by Socialism, reports the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

Among the most active of the Society's chapters this year are those in the College of the City of New York, Yale, Vassar, the University of Illinois, Barnard, Berkeley Divinity School, Oberlin, Valparaiso; while those at Columbia, Radcliffe, the University of Pittsburgh, Harvard, Indiana, Howard, Reed, Wisconsin, Carnegie Institute of Technology, and others have done much effective work.

Among the alumni chapters, the N. Y. Alumni, with more than 300 members, has continued the most active. Its semi-monthly evening meetings and Saturday afternoon "camaraderies" have proved most stimulating. The Chicago and St. Louis Chapters have been recently organized.

The Quarterly of the Society—The Intercollegiate Socialist—(50c a year, 15c a copy) has been steadily growing in interest and value. The Symposium on "Socialists and the Problems of War," appearing in the April—May issue of the magazine, and contributed to by twenty-seven prominent Socialists and radicals, has attracted wide attention.

The All-Russia Congress of Workmen and Soldiers have chosen all six of the Socialist members of the Russian provisional cabinet as members of the congress' executive council.

WAR WITHOUT TAX

Will you think or pay? The Nation creates all land values—justice demands their use for National Defense—not for private gain. Tax on land values alone with no other taxes whatever will provide entire annual national budget—seven billion dollars. Will force idle land into use. Reduce taxes for 95% of the people. Will not raise prices or reduce production. Booklet free. NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE, Cincinnati. Dept. L.

Poison And Kill Many To Rear New Aristocracy

Workers engaged in munition plants where the new "War Bride Aristocracy" of the United States are making their millions, are subjected to poisoning and in many instances are killed for lack of any adequate protection, according to the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics which has just issued a bulletin, described mildly as being "of more than ordinary interest."

The bulletin is entitled "Industrial poisons used or produced in the manufacture of explosives," and may be had by writing to the Bureau at Washington. The bulletin records the results of a study of over forty factories in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Indiana, employing nearly a hundred thousand workers.

Here is what the Bureau says about the way the munition makers looked after their employees:

"It was impossible to obtain accurate figures as to the amount of sickness and death caused by work in this industry since the war broke out. Many cases were never recognized; others were noted by the company physicians or insurance physicians who were unwilling to give any information concerning them; in some factories there was either no medical care or it was inadequate; in other factories records were so incomplete as to render the data somewhat misleading."

It was further discovered that 53 out of 2,507 cases were fatal. This is a high death rate. Of course none of those thus killed were insured by the company.

Arrest 13 In Philadelphia.

Thirteen Socialists were arrested in Philadelphia, July 6, and held on a charge of "treason." Their alleged crime was the distribution of a leaflet entitled, "Long Live the Constitution of the United States." Total bail was placed at \$110,000. The People's Press, local official organ, was held up by the post office.

116 Go To Jail.

Rockford, Ill., Socialists, to the number of 116, who failed to register and voluntarily gave themselves up to the authorities, have been placed in the Bridewell, Chicago's workhouse, where they will work out a sentence of 365 days imposed on them by Federal Judge Landis.

THIS FORD FREE



Send Us No Money

JUST YOUR NAME

You don't need money to get an automobile. Let me give you one of my brand new, never used, latest model, five-passenger Ford Touring Car. I have given away dozens of them. You might as well have one, too. If you have no auto and want one, come join our club. We will send you one. I want to get one of your Ford cars. I will send you one.

300 Capital Bldg., Topeka, Kansas

FREE!

POSTPAID

My Copyrighted Book "How to Judge Engines" tells how high-grade semi-truck engines are made, advantages over cast iron, how common cast iron is written, how power cost 50 per cent. Write for free copy today and get my "How to Make Money" folder and latest WITTE ENGINE prices. Ed. H. Witte.

WITTE ENGINE WORKS

3267 Oakland Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 3267 Empire Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

FREE-TOBACCO

It tells how to get the Genuine Kentucky Natural LEAF Tobacco, direct from the grower. How to make your own cigars, smoking and chewing tobacco at home for one-half store price, how to avoid the revenue tax, cut the middleman's profit, and get the best tobacco for the least money. How to save most the money you use in the home. Have a sanitary, clean toilet in the home. Endorsed by the U. S. Government. Write for free copy today. The Tobacco Book is FREE

June Receipts Are More Than Previous Five Months

THIS TABLE tells the story of the biggest month The American Socialist has ever had:

Week Ending	Bundles	Subscriptions
June 9	\$ 28.10	\$ 807.88
June 16	56.54	936.10
June 23	55.47	1,063.84
June 30	92.03	1,413.71
Total	\$232.05	\$4,221.53
		232.05

Total for month\$4,453.58

The receipts for the month of June were in excess of the total receipts for the five months preceding. The increase has been as steady as a swelling torrent. From all over the Union the subscriptions came pouring in. The office force has been increased until it is double its former number, and still we are hardly able to keep pace with the great volume of work.

In spite of all difficulties and hindrance, this work has gone forward. The first week of July has kept up the shining record.

Now we come into our Birthday Week—July 15 to 22. Help us make that the biggest week in all our history. We will be three years old on July 18, and have learned to run like a jackrabbit. Help us keep up the pace!

Celebrate our Birthday Week by sending in subscriptions that shall break all previous records by a great excess. Show us that we have your confidence and your loyal cooperation. It is easy—the people are hungry for the news of Socialism. The dawn has broken in Russia. Speed the coming of the Day!

From The Firing Line

Local San Diego, Cal., orders 30 copies a week of The American Socialist for six months.

"Your paper is doing a world of good. Long live the Socialist movement," comes from a new recruit in Rankin, Okla.

"Henry Dubb is a regular byword here in the shops," says a comrade who sends in some subs from Pine Bluff, Ark.

Comrade Leonard R. Ling, Illinois, after handing out free copies for a while went out after the subs and landed a list of 22 without any difficulty. He says, "I guess you have opened up a new world of thought for some of them. I am sure you have filled me with a new determination to get out and hustle for The American Socialist."

W. H. Lemke, Ohio, read two different issues; then he could resist the temptation no longer and subscribed.

"I wish to spread a little light," writes Mrs. B. F. Forbes, Fredonia, N. Y., as she subscribes and orders a bundle for distribution.

Comrade Joe Roll, Indiana, sends in a list of 12 to help Morris K. Friedman win that Rand School Scholarship.

I have been taking your paper for two weeks and I showed your paper to the men in the shop and they think it is good," says E. Cleveland, Ohio, sending in list of 12.

"I still hope to see the election of a Socialist congress and in 1920 a Socialist president," writes Comrade C. A. Passmore, New York, who was a Socialist in 1906 30 years ago. He feels it an honor to send in a list of 11 subs.

"Men that we Socialists couldn't talk a few years ago are now good Socialists," is the message that comes from a former railroad worker. "Keep up the good work and work hard to get our delegates to Stockholm."

"If the sentiment over the country is the same as it is here, and if the comrades only take advantage of this opportunity, there is no reason why we should not increase the circulation of The American Socialist," writes a comrade who seems to wake them up like our party paper. That comes from Comrade James Ogden, Indiana.

"I like the paper better all the time," is our best weapon," from Comrade J. A. Ackerman, Illinois.

Comrade Albert Salisbury, Indiana, sends in a list of 43 subs that he rounded up among the workers in the bottling department of the local brewery.

"The people are hungry for The American Socialist," says Comrade H. Hoffman, Minnesota, sending in a list of 15.

"I can no longer refrain from complimenting The American Socialist on the very excellent paper we are now receiving. In this vicinity its circulation and popularity are both growing. May your never handle the topic of the day less brilliantly. I wish that we could build up a circulation of several million for this very worthy paper. Yours for the Cooperative Commonwealth," A. F. Blon, Waco, Texas.

One of our comrades subject to the draft sends in a list of 33 subs from Marion, Ohio, as his protest.

"Yours for the Revolution, and it looks to me as if it is coming at a lively rate of speed," writes a comrade at Aberdeen, Wash., who renews his sub so he can keep in touch with Socialism the world over.

"This is my answer to the registration law," says a Kokomo, Ind., Comrade as he sends in a list of six.

Someone just handed James N. Anderson, of Meridian, Okla., a copy of The American Socialist with the result that he is sending in a club of four.

Comrade William Winsor, of Lyons, Colo., objects to being the only subscriber of The American Socialist in his town so he sends in a list to keep him company. He says he hopes that hereafter the postal officials at Lyons will get a look at the headlines of The American Socialist at least.

Dr. W. O. Leecher, of St. Louis, Mo., sends in a list of former republicans and democrats who have now changed to Socialism.

"I can get more good out of one of your papers than all the dailies that I could read," writes a Volunteer from Gatesville, Tex.

Northcliffe Urges Gag Be Stricken Off Press

(From The Chicago Tribune)

Lord Northcliffe, British high commissioner to the United States, in an address to magazine editors and writers at a luncheon in New York, June 28, expressed the hope that the United States would not muddle the censorship as England did during the first three years of the war.

"I trust that the United States will not make the censorship blunder that England made, and which is just becoming an evil of the past. England was kept in the dark for nearly three years. The people were blinded by the fatuous optimism of soldiers and politicians who, while efficient in peace, were incompetent in war. The people were not permitted to know the truth, and when the truth finally emerged out of costly blunders and sacrifices they were loath to accept it."

Press Can Awaken People.

"I hope that America may permit her newspaper and magazine writers to be absolutely frank about what is going on. It is as important for the nation to know the worst as it is for the nation to know the best."

"For one thing—and we have found it out from actual experience—it is a great stimulus for the men fighting in the field to know that they are being written about at home and that the country they are fighting for knows, precisely what they are doing."

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

Northcliffe Urges Gag Be Stricken Off Press

(From The Chicago Tribune)

Lord Northcliffe, British high commissioner to the United States, in an address to magazine editors and writers at a luncheon in New York, June 28, expressed the hope that the United States would not muddle the censorship as England did during the first three years of the war.

"I trust that the United States will not make the censorship blunder that England made, and which is just becoming an evil of the past. England was kept in the dark for nearly three years. The people were blinded by the fatuous optimism of soldiers and politicians who, while efficient in peace, were incompetent in war. The people were not permitted to know the truth, and when the truth finally emerged out of costly blunders and sacrifices they were loath to accept it."

Press Can Awaken People.

"I hope that America may permit her newspaper and magazine writers to be absolutely frank about what is going on. It is as important for the nation to know the worst as it is for the nation to know the best."

"For one thing—and we have found it out from actual experience—it is a great stimulus for the men fighting in the field to know that they are being written about at home and that the country they are fighting for knows, precisely what they are doing."

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

In proof of this, the following story is printed in the same column:

URGENT TRIAL OF INCOMPETENTS (From The Chicago Tribune)

LONDON, June 28.—Press and public are still venting their rage on the men held responsible for the Mesopotamia fiasco.

An interesting discussion from which Americans might glean some advice was overheard between men in high official positions. They agreed that the continuance of the Mesopotamian muddle was due in no small measure to the muzzling of the British press and the gagging of members of parliament.

FROM THE NEW YORK CALL

133,387 P.O. Censors

POSTMASTERS AND LETTER CARRIERS CAN STOP PAPERS FROM BEING MAILED UNDER ACT.

WASHINGTON, July 1. — The censorship law, under which the post-office department instructed the Chicago postmaster to withhold from the mails pending investigation the June 30 edition of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, is a part of the so-called "espionage" law, agreed to by both houses of Congress early in June and approved by President Wilson on June 15.

The censorship section is perhaps the most sweeping power ever conferred upon a government department in any modern democracy. It establishes by law of 133,387 official censors with power to exclude certain matter from the mails.

The law makes every postmaster and every mail carrier a censor.

133,387 Official Censors.

According to the last quarterly report of the postoffice department, the official censors are as follows:

Postmasters55,509

City letter carriers34,479

Rural mail carriers43,399

Total censors133,387

The law imposes a maximum fine of \$5,000, or a maximum jail sentence of five years, upon any one using the mails for nonmailable matter.

The law goes further and imposes the same fine and the same jail sentence upon any one who "attempts to use the mails" for the circulation of nonmailable matter.

The text of the censorship section of the "espionage" law, legally known as the "act of June 15," is as follows:

TITLE XII.—Use of Mails.

The New Freedom

By WOODROW WILSON
President of the United States.

NOTE.—We take great pleasure, in this crisis confronting the American people, in republishing the accompanying extracts from Chapter III, of Woodrow Wilson's book, "The New Freedom." In later issues we shall have other extracts to present to our readers.

THERE are two theories of government that have been contending with each other ever since government began. One of them is the theory which in America is associated with the name of a very great man, Alexander Hamilton. A great man, but, in my judgment, not a great American. He did not think in terms of American life. Hamilton believed that the only people who could understand government, and therefore the only people who were qualified to conduct it, were the men who had the biggest financial stake in the commercial and industrial enterprises of the country.

That theory, the few have now the hardihood to profess it openly, has been the working theory upon which our government has lately been conducted. It is astonishing how persistent it is. It is amazing how quickly the political party which had Lincoln for its first leader,—Lincoln, who not only denied, but in his own person so completely disproved the aristocratic theory,—it is amazing how quickly that party, founded on faith in the people, forgot the precepts of Lincoln and fell under the delusion that the "masses" needed the guardianship of "men of affairs."

For indeed, if you stop to think about it, nothing could be a greater departure from original Americanism, from faith in the ability of a confident, resourceful, and independent people, than the discouraging doctrine that somebody has got to provide prosperity for the rest of us.

AND yet that is exactly the doctrine on which the government of the United States has been conducted lately. Who have been consulted when important measures of government, like tariff acts, and currency acts, and railroad acts, were under consideration? The people whom the tariff chiefly affects, the people for whom the currency is supposed to exist, the people who pay the duties and ride on the railroads? Oh, no! What do they know about such matters? The gentlemen whose ideas have been sought are the big manufacturers, the bankers, and the heads of the great railroad combinations. The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate page of the records of Congress, it is written all thru the history of conferences at the White House, that the suggestions of economic policy in this country have come from one source, not from many sources. The benevolent guardians, the kind-hearted trustees who have taken the troubles of government on their hands, have become so conspicuous that almost anybody can write out a list of them. They have become so conspicuous that their names are mentioned upon almost every political platform. The men who have undertaken the interesting job of taking care of us do not force us to require them with any unusual directed gratitude. We know them by name.

Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government. You will always find that while you are politely listened to, the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake,—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of railroad corporations and of steamship corporations. I have no objection to these men being consulted, because they also, too, they do not themselves seem to admit it, are part of the people of the United States. But I do very seriously object to these gentlemen being CHIEFLY consulted, and particularly to their being exclusively consulted, for, if the government of the United States did do the right thing by the people of the United States, it has got to do it directly and not thru the intermediation of these gentlemen. Every time it has come to a critical question these gentlemen have been yielded to, and their demands have been treated as the demands that should be followed as a matter of course.

THE government of the United States at present is a foster-child of the special interests. It is not allowed to have a will of its own. It is told at every move; "Don't do that; you will interfere with our prosperity." And when we ask, "Where is our prosperity lodged?" a certain group of gentlemen say, "With us." The government of the United States in recent years has not been administered by the common people of the United States. You know just as well as I do,—it is not an indictment against anybody, it is a mere statement of the fact,—the people have stood outside and looked on at their own government and that all they have had to determine in past years has been which crowd they would look on at; whether they would look on at this little group who had managed to get the control of affairs in its hands. Have you ever heard, for example, of any hearing before any great committee of the Congress in which the people of the country as a whole were represented, except it may be by the Congressmen themselves? The men who appear at those meetings in order to argue for or against a schedule in the tariff, for this measure or against that measure, are men who represent special interests. They represent them very honestly, but they are speaking from the point of view always of a small portion of the population.

THE WAY TO RESUME IS TO RESUME. ONE OF the wonderful things about America, to my mind, is this: that for more than a generation it has allowed itself to be governed by persons who were not invited to govern it. A singular thing about the people of the United States is their almost infinite patience, their willingness to stand quietly by and see things done which they have voted against and do not want done, and yet never lay the hand of disorder upon any arrangement of government.

There is hardly a part of the United States where men are not aware that secret private purposes and interests have been running the government. They have been running it thru the agency of those interesting persons whom we call political "bosses." A boss is not so much a politician as the business agent in politics of the special interests. The boss is not a partisan; he is quite above politics! He has an understanding with the boss of the other party, so that, whether it is heads or tails, we lose. The two receive contributions for the same sources, and they spend those contributions for the same purposes.

BOSSSES are men who have worked their way by secret methods to the place of power; they occupy men who were never elected to anything; men who were not asked by the people to conduct the government, and who are very much more powerful than if you had asked them so long as you leave them where they are; behind closed doors, in secret conference. They are not politicians; they have no policies,—except concealed policies of private aggrandizement. A boss isn't a leader of a party. Parties do not meet in back rooms; parties do not make arrangements which do not get into the newspapers. Parties, if you reckon them by voting strength, are great masses of men who, because they can't vote any other ticket, vote the ticket that was prepared for them by the aforesaid arrangement in the aforesaid back room in accordance with the aforesaid understanding. A boss is the manipulator of a "machine." A "machine" is that part of a political organization which has been taken out of the hands of the rank and file of the party, captured by half a dozen men. It is the part that has ceased to be political and has become an agency for the purposes of unscrupulous business.

Do not lay up the sins of this kind of business to political organizations. Organization is legitimate, is necessary, is even distinguished, when it lends it-

self to the carrying out of great causes. Only the man who uses organization to promote private purposes is a boss. Always distinguish between political leader and a boss. I honor the man who makes the organization of a great party strong and there, in order to use it for public service. But he is not a boss. A boss is a man who uses this splendid, open force for secret purposes.

ONE OF the worst features of the boss system is this fact, that it works secretly. I would a great deal rather live under a king whom I should at least know, than under a boss whom I don't know. A boss is a much more formidable master than a king, because a king is an obvious master, whereas the hands of the boss are always where you least expect them to be.

Applause From Russians

WOMEN Suffragists in Washington have been arrested wholesale for picketing the White House, armed with banners on which were conspicuously written quotations from President Wilson's speeches.

Russian Envoy Commends Women.

The following letter was sent by Inspector N. A. Bessaraboff of the Russian commission to Miss Alice Paul of the Congressional Women Suffrage Union. It refers to the tearing of the women's banners by the crowd earlier this week:

"Miss Alice Paul,

My dear—I have just read about the deplorable incident near the White House.

"From all my heart and soul I am proud of the courage of American women, who so boldly demand real liberty and democracy."

"I pray all good forces in the world to give you the courage to stay unshaken, to find in high ideals unlimited forces of joy, helping you not to fall down spiritually."

"I am proud of Miss Burns and Mrs. Lewis, who stood so courageously despite the angry crowd."

"In Russia different kinds of oppressors did the very same thing as American police do now. Yet real liberty was won and there are no forces on the earth which could disprove humanity from it."

"With deepest respect and admiration,

"N. A. BESSARABOFF,

"Junior inspector of artillery, Russian commission."

Concerning Coal

Coal operators robbed the people of 650 million dollars last winter thru exorbitant prices, according to testimony taken at a government hearing in Washington, June 27 and 28.

W. S. Boyle of Chicago told the senate committee that coal operators are "entitled to make all they can."

Charles M. Mowderwell of Chicago, told the committee that 400 per cent increases in the price of coal over last year were justifiable because coal operators, "being only human," had taken advantage of war demands to raise prices, and "received the benefits of the situation."

Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, appealed to the coal operators not to coin the blood of the boys who are sent to France into dollars. The room rocked to their applause; and when the secretary had left, the coal committee proceeded to fix a price for coal which Secretary of War Baker and Secretary of the Navy Daniels promptly denounced as "extortionate and excessive." They did this for the sole reason that they thought they could get away with it.

Can you blame them? As long as this nation permits its coal supply to remain in the possession of men who are gambling in the lives of the nation—who is to blame?

Until the nation declares that all natural resources belong to all the people, we will have no right to complain of this annual robbery, nor any shadow of cause to blame those whom we have begged on bended knee to rob us.

A Sorry Day in Boston

(From The Boston Journal)

A deep disgrace to Boston and a sorry stain to the American uniform—that is a mild judgment of the rioting yesterday in our streets and in that historic park dedicated to the cause of Liberty.

A parade of civilian men and women within their rights and within the law was attacked by American soldiers and sailors. Innocent citizens were injured, private property was destroyed. The free streets and the public park were taken in possession by the uniformed men, and the rights of the civilian were denied.

And this in Boston, U. S. A.—and in a year when the nation has been urged to give its blood to "make the world safe for democracy!"

The Socialists, a political party existing by law, were having one of their customary parades. With the American flag they carried their usual banners, bearing their party inscriptions.

And then along comes a gang of ruffians, dressed in the proudest regalia of the United States, and attacks the persons and the liberties of the paraders, including both men and women.

In Park Square, under the shadow of Abraham Lincoln's statue, a second gang breaks into and plunders the Socialist headquarters, burning furniture and fittings in the street.

The United States uniform lent a hand to breaking, entering and larceny—in broad daylight, in a public square of one of the most populous cities in the country.

The scores of soldiers and sailors who took part in this brutal outburst have insulted their service, their uniforms and the flag they so cheaply pretended to "honor." By executive order of the President they should be searched out and disciplined; and no citizen who is awake to the value of citizenship rights will rest until such an order has been issued.

Incidentally no single misfortune in all the country in these troublous times has done as much as this will do to harden the hearts of the already numerous skeptics against our war for democracy. If peaceful citizens cannot pursue their orderly way without interference by the military the old fear of "militarism" must rise again.

It will be well for the country if yesterday's outrage is promptly disavowed and as promptly punished. Free America will not stand much of German style military autocracy in its democratic army.

As for the uniformed men who outraged our citizenry; they are, we are glad to say, only a small part of the whole number of those who have chosen to fight for their country. But it may not be out of place to suggest to the government that, if this is the temper of so many men that further riots are threatened, it is best for the cause of peace at home to send these troops to France where they may fight for their lives against an armed foe without any spare time for bullying innocent women and tired laborers.

Welcome To Russians

The Socialists of America, the pioneer of industrial democracy in one of the oldest public, sends its hearty good wishes and fraternal greetings to the representatives of Free Russia now in the United States.

We hope that the Russian people will lead the world from despotism to true democracy, industrial as well as social and political.

The Socialist workers of America welcome the people of Russia to the great international brotherhood of the working people—striving for liberty and bread.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGBAHL.....Editor

Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1914, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1897.

Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party National Office, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

SINGLE SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Fifty cents a year. Twenty-five cents for six months.

BUNDLE RATES.—Bundle Rates One Year to one address: 4 copies \$1.50; 8 copies \$3.00; 10 copies \$3.50; 25 copies \$9.00; 50 copies \$18.75; 100 copies \$35.00. Bundle Rates of Any Issue: 1,000, \$7.50; 500, \$3.75; 200, \$1.50; 100, 75 cents.

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1917.

X-RAYS

By JOHN M. WORK.

A CORRESPONDENT, whose inquiry evidently grows out of the East St. Louis riot, wants to know if economic determinism explains the actions of individuals or those of classes.

He says, "I believe the term may be used to explain the reason for one's becoming a highly paid strike breaker, or it may be used to justify the actions of subdivisions of the working class in making a separate peace with the employer."

IN COMMON conversation, when a person has evidently been governed by his financial interest, it is often said that it was a case of economic determinism.

But this is a loose and inaccurate use of the expression.

In a more correct sense, the term means that the mode of making a living is the main factor in determining the nature of social institutions, the course of events, and the character and opinions of the people.

A given individual may or may not be governed by his financial interest. He may be governed by his financial interest at one time and not at another.

But when it comes to society as a whole, while the economic factor is not the only one, it nevertheless affords the chief explanation of both the course and the structure of society.

THERE is a very good reason for this. Let me illustrate.

At a social gathering in a certain small town one evening the young people were telling hair-raising ghost stories. The girls congratulate themselves on the fact that they did not have to go home alone, for they said they wouldn't dare to.

But, one young woman made fun of their fears and stoutly maintained that she was not afraid of spooks. To test her courage a young man offered her a silver dollar if she would go alone to a newly made grave in the cemetery near by and return.

She accepted the challenge.

It was decided that she should take a table fork with her and stick it into the grave to prove that she had really gone there. She took the fork and departed. The rest of the young people enjoyed themselves by indulging in many jokes about the creepy time she would have in earning that dollar.

But their merriment was brought to a sudden end by a blood-curdling shriek from the direction of the cemetery.

They ran to the rescue and found the young woman lying across the newly made grave in a dead faint. When they had carried her to the house and brought her around again, she told them with terror in her tones that when she stuck the fork into the grave, something like a hand came out of it and seized her skirt; so she screamed and fainted.

Then the youth who had lifted her from the grave explained that she had run the fork thru the hem of her dress and pinned herself to the ground!

NOW—as soon as your hair has had time to settle—I want to call your attention to the fact that all men, women and children are pinned to the earth.

They are pinned to the earth with something that is not so tangible that you can seize hold of it like a fork.

But it is something infinitely more powerful.

They are pinned to the earth by their physical needs.

They literally must have food, clothing and shelter.

Without food, clothing and shelter, they would die.

Without food, clothing and shelter in abundance, and obtained with reasonable ease, it is impossible for them to improve their minds or avail themselves of the higher things of life.

Food, clothing and shelter are therefore of first importance.

Take notice that I do not say that they are of greatest importance.

They are not of greatest importance. Mental, moral and spiritual things are of greatest importance.

But food, clothing and shelter are of first importance. First in point of time. We literally have to get them before we can accomplish anything else.

THE fact that food, clothing and shelter are absolutely necessary to sustain human life is the reason why economic conditions are the dominant factor in shaping institutions, the course of events, and the character and opinions of the people.

If human beings could live without food, clothing and shelter, economic conditions would probably cut mighty little figure.

But, since they cannot live without these things, they simply have to yield to economic conditions in order to exist.

The result is, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the main course of society is molded and fashioned by economic conditions.

BUT what of it? Just this. It enables us to understand the past. It enables us to understand the present.

It enables us to forecast the main outlines of the future.

This economic law, this natural law, enables us to understand the causes of thousands of historical events which have hitherto looked as if they just happened to happen.

We now know that the events occurring in society are chiefly caused by the prevailing economic conditions.

This gives us the key to history. It just hangs up an electric light over history and illumines it.

It also enables us to understand how we got into the perplexing economic and political dilemma in which we now find ourselves. It enables us to understand the war. It enables us to understand social phenomena. For example, leaving the motives of the individual strike breaker out of consideration, it thoroughly explains strike breaking as an institution.

There are vast numbers of people who are utterly bewildered by the great economic dilemma of the day.

They cannot understand how it happens that we have widespread poverty in the midst of plenty, when it did not use to be so in this country.

They cannot understand why the people are now divided into classes when there did not use to be any clear and distinct class lines in this country.

They cannot understand why a few egregiously rich men now own the vast bulk of the wealth, when it was not formerly so in this country.

They are bewildered. They cannot see why these things are so. But the man who understands the economic urge is not perplexed.

He knows that these things are simply the natural outcome of economic development—the development of hand tools, owned by individuals, into great machinery, owned by gigantic corporations, and operated by wage workers who receive a fraction of the value of their labor and yield up the rest to the employers for a chance to work.

HE KNOWS, too, that it is to the interest of the workers to get the full value of their labor.

He knows that this law urges them on to get it.

But how? There is only one way.

By the collective ownership and control of the industries.

And that is Socialism.

Growth Of Socialism.

Charles the Fifth once said that the sun never set on his empire. "We Socialists may apply these words to our movement, and say that the sun never sets on the countries in which our banner floats."

With these words the eloquent Belgian deputy, Emile Vandervelde, opened the International Socialist Congress, held in Stuttgart in 1907. It was not an empty boast. The Socialist movement is as wide as the world. In Europe its power is felt alike in the highly civilized central and northern countries, in once autocratic Russia, in apathetic Spain and in the backward Balkan kingdoms. It has invaded the Celestial empire, Persia and Japan; Transvaal and the Australian colonies; the South American republics and the Dominion of Canada. The United States is fast becoming a stronghold of the new doctrine.

The gospel of Socialism is preached in more than sixty tongues. Its creed is accepted by thirty million persons.

A movement of such magnitude and universality could not spring up without a cause, or continue without a mission. To scoff at it is futile. To ignore it is folly. It must be faced. It should be understood.

And Socialism can be understood very readily. Despite all assertions to the contrary, the mainstays of the movement are quite obvious, its philosophy is exceedingly simple and its program is very definite.

With Our Money

The food barons are getting generous with our money.

J. Ogden Armour, Chicago's hog butcher, has turned over to his daughter 13 acres of land in Chicago valued at between \$200,000 and \$300,000.

Edward A. Cudahy, another of our multimillionaire butchers, has turned over to his daughter about \$70,000 worth of Chicago real estate, not to mention the price of the mansion that will be built upon it.

This wealth comes out of the hunger of the American people paying extortionate prices for food. It is our money out of our pockets.

We can only hope that "Hog" Armour and "Beef" Cudahy will not boost the price of the meat again to get back their coin lavished on their daughters, by stealing more from us.

But don't expect anything else as long as the private ownership of food continues. The masses of the people, any time they choose, can make a present to themselves of cheaper and better food, if they will but socialize the production and distribution of the things we eat.

Let us hand ourselves that present now.

"Daniel Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, has been working constantly since the beginning of the strike at the factory of David Adler & Sons to bring about a settlement satisfactory to the organization," says "The Advance," official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. You will never find a democrat or republican city official working constantly to settle a strike on behalf of the workers. They are always on the other side.

Protest To President Wilson Against Many Lawless Assaults

The Socialist Party national executive committee, at its meeting just held in Chicago, with reports still coming from Boston, Mass., of the lawless assaults by soldiers and sailors upon the Socialist parade and headquarters in that city, forwarded a protest to President Wilson as follows:

Chicago, Ill., July 6, 1917.

Hon. Woodrow Wilson,

President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—The National Office of the Socialist Party has received complaints from many parts of the country of lawless assaults upon the rights, liberties and persons of citizens, committed by soldiers and sailors.

Organized bands of men wearing the uniform of the United States have systematically disturbed and broken up public meetings lawfully assembled and peacefully conducted; they have made numerous domiciliary searches and arrests without warrant or accusation and without a shadow of legal authority; they have invaded homes and ransacked private offices; they have destroyed property and insulted and maltreated men, women and children. They have wantonly, boisterously and defiantly trampled upon all constitutional rights and liberties, and also these atrocities have been going on for many weeks and are growing more shameless and revolting from day to day, they have met with no effective check or rebuke from the civil or military authorities.

We are told that our country has been impelled to take up arms largely because of our indignation over the atrocities committed by German troops in hostile countries, yet we are asked to tolerate similar atrocities committed by our own soldiers on our own soil before a shot has been exchanged between our troops and the enemy.

We are told that we are in the war "to make the world safe for democracy," yet we are expected to allow all civil law and order to be superseded by a reign of lawless and unprincipled military terrorism in our own country at the very outset of the crusade.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon you, Mr. President, as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and as the responsible custodian of the rights and liberties guaranteed to the people of the United States by the Constitution, to command an immediate halt to this unspeakable national disgrace.

The Socialist Party of the United States has always conducted its work by peaceful and law-abiding methods, which are the only effective and admissible methods in a government based on freedom of press, speech, assembly and the person.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST PARTY,

Victor L. Berger,

Morris Hillquit,

Anna A. Mailey,

John M. Work,

National Executive Secretary:

Adolph Germer.

Let Us Have The Truth

By VICTOR A. OLANDER.

Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois Federation of Labor.

Press dispatches say Negro Equal Rights League of Boston charges trade unionists with responsibility for East St. Louis riots. Any such charge is viciously untrue. It was the East St. Louis central body, including locals having negroes in membership, that requested the investigation of disorders by State Council of Defense in May. That investigation showed that southern negroes had been misled by false advertisements and unscrupulous employment agents to come to East St. Louis in such numbers that they could not secure either work nor decent living quarters. The effect was to make acute the exploitation of labor, both negro and white, and to seriously arrange social as well as economic conditions, and to arouse bitterness on all sides. The Chamber of Commerce was urged by one of its own officers, weeks ago, to use its influence against the campaign of misrepresentation and false promises responsible for the influx, but the chamber took no action. It is shocking to me that such organizations as the alleged Negro Equal Rights league have little or nothing to say about the fraud practiced against negroes by unscrupulous employing interests, that such associations remain discreetly silent while southern negroes were cheated into leaving their homes for northern cities and towns already overcrowded, exhibit no concern regarding the miserable living and working conditions which many of the negroes are forced to endure under such circumstances, and offer no protest against the vicious exploitation of labor thru which blacks and whites suffer alike. The Illinois trade union movement is striving to organize the workers of both races, many of our local unions have negro members, some exclusively, and negro delegates attend our conventions and central bodies, but I have not learned of a single instance here where such associations as the Negro Equal Rights league have aided or encouraged negro workers to join together for the purpose of self-help in trade unions, to prevent exploitation, to secure recognition of economic rights, to obtain improvements in working conditions, shorter hours or better wages. On behalf of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and its entire membership of both races, I protest against the rank injustice of the charge alleged to have been made by the league, and I characterize that charge as unqualifiedly false and untrue.

Majority Report Adopted

It is now possible to give the result of the referendum on the anti-war proclamation, commonly known as the "Majority Report," adopted at the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party in April.

The preamble of the "Majority Report" was adopted by a vote of 21,639 in favor and a bare 2,752 against.

The vote on the various planks in the programs of the majority and minority reports varied.

The vote on the different sections of the majority program went from 21,000 to 23,000; while that on the minority report varied from 2,800 to 4,700.

The party stands more united today than at any time in its history. United it will move forward to achieve great things.